1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

845 [171]*

fested by several tribes of northern California and in view of their association with the weather and salmon on the Northwest coast. Neither of these attitudes appears among the Klamath. Nor is there any sympathetic bond between twins, nor is one of them destroyed at birth. Informants had never heard of triplets although they must occur in the usual biological proportions. Monsters are said always to be born dead—perhaps the midwives see to that. Like the stillborn, they are said to receive the universal cremation, but it is more likely that they are secretly disposed of, like abortions. [766]

847 •

The child of an adulterous union, if not palmed off on the husband, is aborted by pressing the abdomen heavily on a rock. Naturally this takes place in the seclusion of the brush. No medicines are in use for abortion. To abort is called hĭso'koga; infanticide, siu'ga.

842

How much of a disgrace barrenness is I do not know, but it does not lead to separation. To aid conception women grind a white shell[80] (lō'ktăs) and drink it in water. Men do the same for impotence. A small dentalium shell (t'u'tas) is also used.

854

Klamath cradles show an interesting cultural amalgamation. The cradle for the newborn is the northern California sitting type; the carrying board for later use is identical with the oval wooden forms of the northern Basin.[81] Through western Oregon and Washington, along the line of contact of the Basin board with the wooden trough cradle of the Northwest Coast, both forms are used or else a modification of one toward the form of the other.

[593]

The basketry cradle (kwăls) for the first month or two of the baby's life is a trough with one rounded end on which the child sits. It is made by the mother of the expectant woman; woven of willow twigs, it measures eighteen inches in length. Its purpose is said to be to prevent the infant scratching its navel, with consequent illness, and to support its weak back. Its usefulness ended, it is thrown away.

[562]

The carrying board (swĕns) is made by the baby's father or a near kinsman. It is a flat board of oval outline, carved from a single piece of wood. The lower end is rather pointed so that it can be stuck into the ground while the mother is occupied. An unexpected feature is that the sex of the infant is distinguishable from the shape of the

[80] This is flat, two inches long, and spotted. It may have been got from the whites.

[81] Barrett has it that the first cradle is of soft tules, followed by the sitting type of more rigid materials, with occasional use of the board (Material Culture, 257, pl. 14).

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MN	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3361. Spirit of tattooed goes to good place	-	◔	-					+	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	.	304
3362. Cranial deformation	+	◔	+	◔	-	◔	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3363. Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[562]
3364. Female	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3365. Pads bound to head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3366. Back	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3367. Front	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3368. Mother attends to baby's head	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Disposal of Milk Teeth																	
3369. Thrown away, no particular place	+	-	-			+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	836
3370. Thrown away, toward sun	-	-	-		+	-	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	826
3371. Thrown in river	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3372. Buried in gopher hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	◔	◔	-	◔	◔	+	◔	◔	◔	+	
3373. Buried in excrement	-	-	-	◔	◔	◔	-	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3374. Hidden in grass clump	-	-	+	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3375. Buried, no special place	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
3376. Exchanged with gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3377. Formula spoken	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	◔	+	◔	◔	
Twins																	
3378. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	(+)	+	-	◔	+	+	+	◔	+	+	◔	845
3379. Considered unlucky	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	[773]
3380. Attempts made to prevent conception of twins	◔	-	-						◔	-	+	◔	.	◔	◔	.	
3381. People "ashamed" for woman	-	-	-				+	-	-	-	-	-	.	+	-	.	
3382. No significance	+	+	+	+	-	(+)	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	.	
3383. Relative adopts 1	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	.	+	+	.	[597]
Adoption of Children																	
3384. Parents impoverished: relatives, only, adopt child	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	.	-	+	+	+	597
3385. Orphan: adopted by paternal, maternal kin	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
3386. Paternal relatives only	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	-	-	-	-	
o3387. Childless couples given child by relatives	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	.	-	+	.	+	
3388. Anyone may adopt orphan	-	-	-					+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Infanticide, Illegitimate Children																	
3389. Illegitimate children killed, occasionally	+	+	+	-	+	◔	+	◔	-	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	847
3390. Legitimate children killed occasionally	-	-	◔					◔	◔	-	-	-	-	◔	◔	◔	848
3391. To avert disaster	-	-	+					+	+	-	-	.	-	-	-	-	
3392. If mother dies in childbirth	-	-	+					◔	◔	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3393. Infant buried alive with mother	-	-	+					◔	-	-	-	.	-	+	+	-	
3394. Infant put in badger hole	+	+	-	-	.	-	+	-	-	-	-	.	-	-	+	-	
3395. Infant smothered	-	-	◔					◔	◔	-	.	-	-	-	-	-	
3396. Mother keeps illegitimate child	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	.	-	-	+	+	+	
3397. Mother's mother takes illegitimate child	-	-	-	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	.	+	.	+	+	-	
3398. Father of illegitimate child provides for baby	-	-	+	+	.	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Impregnatives, Contraceptives, Abortion																	
3399. Measures taken to induce pregnancy	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	.	842
3400. Shell, vegetable decoction drunk	+	◔	◔	-	-	-	+	-	◔	-	-	-	-	-	-	.	
3401. Doctor makes miniature baby cradle													-	-	◔	.	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	VT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
842 3402. Measures taken to insure sex wanted, of child	+	+	–			+	+	–	+	–	.	.	–	–	+	.
3403. 2 varieties shell used in decoction employed	+	+	–			+	+	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	.
3404. Different parts of plant used in decoction	–	–	–			–	–	–	+	–	.	.	–	–	+	.
3405. Bow and arrow or basket hung up	–	–	–						+	–	.	.	.	.	.	.
3406. Measures taken to prevent pregnancy	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	+	–	–	R
847 3408. Abortion	.	.	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	.	.	+	–	–	R
3409. Pregnant woman lies on warm trench	.	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	+	–	–
3410. Pregnant woman lies over log	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3411. Exercise	.	–	+	–	–	+	.	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3412. Blows or pressure	.	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	.	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3413. Old woman helps	.	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	.	.	–	–	–	–
3414. Pregnant woman helps self, alone	.	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	+	–	–
Puberty and Menstrual Customs																
Girls' Puberty Ceremony																
841																
88 3415. Held for each girl separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3416. Private seclusion of menstruant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3417. In menstrual hut	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+
3418. In cook house	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3419. In dwelling, winter only	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
3420. In open	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3421. Daytime	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3422. Night time	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
3423. Hut behind, near dwelling	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
[516] 3424. Girl not allowed in dwelling house	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
3425. Girl sits, lies on pine needles, mat bed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3426. Girl sits, lies on heated trench	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3427. Girl sits, lies on warmed ground	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
3428. Bark pillow	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3429. Stick, pine needle pillow	–	–	–		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
3430. Girl lies on back	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3431. Girl lies on side	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
3432. Girl lies in any position	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	(+)	–
3433. Faces east when lying down	.	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	(+)	–	+	–	–
‡3434. Seclusion lasts ... months, rich girl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	1
o3435. Seclusion lasts ... months, poor girl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
‡3436. Seclusion lasts ... days, all girls	5	5	8	10	3	5	3	–	–	–	6	5	6	5	4	–
o3437. Seclusion lasts ... nights, all girls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	–	–	–	0	0	6	0	4	–
‡3438. Seclusion ... days subsequent periods	5	5	2	1	2	2	2	1	11	1	–	1	–	5	–	1
3439. Attendants during seclusion	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
3440. Father's mother or mother's mother attends girl	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
3441. Father's father or mother's father attends girl												+	+	–	–	–
3442. Mother's mother attends girl	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3443. Mother attends girl	–	–	+		+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
3444. Female nonrelative attends girl	–	–	–				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
[465] 3445. 2 or more attendants	–	–	–	–			–					+	+	+	–	+
3446. All attendants paid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3447. Girl digs, pounds epos for attendant	–	–	+				+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3448. Attendant paid in beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
3449. Girl's clothes given attendant(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
3450. Girl's basket given female attendant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

624 fire at ceremony; totem. Female dance managers.
Fire tender appointed by crier. Judge. Moieties
615 lacking; lineages lacking, except possibly among
613 AE.

WAR

72 Leader has totem animal, bird. Painting of contestants according to totem. Men taken prisoners in war; enslaved. Compensation for slain amounts to more than victim's or victim's mother's bride price. Compensation paid before dance of settlement; at end of dance.

CYCLE OF LIFE

Birth

844 Pit, small hole dug in preparation for childbirth. Animal medicine to aid childbirth. Navel cord cut with bone, cane knife. Cord buried in ashes. Cord thrown in bush, stream. Mother baked in pit. Mother uses drinking tube. Father lies down, after birth of child. Father uses drinking tube. Milk teeth thrown toward
moon; backward; over pregnant woman; over house.
845 Twins liked; one killed, only if of opposite
847 sex, incest theory. Abortion accomplished by taking animal, vegetable medicines, massaging with hot stones. Infanticide practiced on all illegitimate, deformed children, twins; infant killed by sitting upon, drowning, abandoning.

Puberty and Menstrual Observances

881 Girls' puberty rites.--Private seclusion: held for group of related, unrelated girls. Held outside in ceremonial enclosure. Girl sits, lies on curtained couch, bed platform, heated pit. Girl sits, lies face down. Girl's blankets given attendant(s). Girl abstains from food completely. Meals limited to once a day; girl eats after others. All liquids taboo. 4-day increase in food taboos after first period. Food taboos enforced limited number of subsequent periods. Food taboos not enforced after first period. Girl chews deer-fat pellets. Girl fed in pit. Does own cooking. Uses bone drinking tube. No sleeping. Girl avoids all people. No visitors. Scratcher yew wedge, horn. Girl scratches head with fingers. Delousing by self. Mud plastered on hair. Girl makes flower garlands. All join girl in running. Girl travels at night. Girl uses blanket, rabbit-skin blanket, mat wool head covering. Girl wears woodpecker scalp, shell, brush, flower crown headband; brush visor. Hair hangs over face. Girl stands at wall covered. Hair worn done up; braided with goat's wool. Hair dressed by self. Bangs cut at end of ceremony. Face painted white; all colors; sun painted on fore-

DDD 3372. WT: Teeth put in hole, child says to animal, "Let's trade teeth; I want good sharp ones like yours," and then jumps over hole. Or trades teeth with trout, and says same formula, but puts teeth in river. WS, MM: Child jumps over hole. NF, NM, NS: All first teeth disposed of thus.

3373. At, AW: Child's excrement; WM: Old person's.

3374. SW: So second or permanent teeth will grow steadily, like grass.

3377. NF, MV: Tell animal, "You give me all good teeth." NS: Bury tooth, and ask gopher for his old tooth, telling him they will give him a new one [the baby tooth] in exchange.

3378. WM: Twins (womas, pretty) feared; "they make a woman sick, pain her before she births them; she may die." NF, MV: Informants had never heard of any cases of twins occurring in groups.

3380. WM, MF, NM, NS: Never eat "twin" wild plums, double acorns, etc. WM: Tell young girls never to talk about twins. Also warn young girls against eating double, triple, etc., acorns "that are all bunched together on 1 stem. If a girl does eat 2 or 3 such acorns off 1 stem, she must point with each of the acorns in a different direction, and say, 'I'll have a child over there [pointing E for example]; next time I'll have a child over there [pointing W]; next time over there [pointing N], etc., so that she won't have 2, 3, 4 children all at 1 time, bunched up together."

Infanticide, illegitimate children; impregnatives, contraceptives, abortion.--

3389. AW: "Anything they raise [give birth to] they keep." WT: Bastard called a "road baby." They "worship that little thing more than an ordinary baby; everyone gives it things, because they all feel sorry for it."

3390. SE, WM, WS: Child killed occasionally, if mother had dreamt bad dreams while confined, and violent storm ensues at time of childbirth. Rare. Denied for all other groups. SE, WM, NM, NS: Infant buried alive with mother, if latter dies in childbirth. Burial alive denied for Kl, Mo, WS, MM, NF. Informant for NF remarked infant, deprived of mother, usually died after about 3 weeks. MV: Try to save child; hire nurse if possible.

[847]
[848]

3392. WS: If mother dies, but infant lives, "another woman, anyone who wants to keep that baby" [need not be relative] drinks 3-4 cupfuls of boiled wild grapevine roots, stem, leaves. In about 1 day after drinking this and massaging breasts, the milk begins to flow and woman can nurse baby she has taken. In winter dry vine and root's effective for this purpose. "An old woman, 60-70 years old, did this for her grandchild, and raised that boy. His mother had died when he was 1 month old."

3393. WM: "Charley Klutchie's father raised him; his mother died at childbirth and the people

3:Stern E-4,5 (1949-1957) 1965 NR 10 Klamath NR 10

[Klamath Reservation]

*657 *648 563 167 tunities of the reservation. As they moved away, they extended Indian experience into the midst of frontier society. During the allotment period they in turn enlarged reservation perspectives.

*657 *648 563 162 The majority of the interbreed children that appeared upon the early reservation, then, were the product of temporary or unstable unions and appeared as fatherless children. The annual reports are unrealistic as to their number. In 1885, for example, it was claimed that there were only 12 interbreeds in the total population of 919,[9] although to judge from later censuses, the number must have been several times as great.

*657 *648 563 [144] [848] [602] One of the long-range results of this intercourse was to reduce somewhat the difference in physical appearance that separated the Indians from the surrounding population. Another—and more immediate—consequence, however, was to raise the divisive issue of illegitimacy among the Indians themselves and to introduce into the tribal body individuals who could claim only maternal kinsmen. Thus, one Klamath recalls his father, a stage driver in Klamath Falls, as a drunkard whom his mother finally left. The family returned to his maternal grandparents, in whose care the boy grew up. His mother subsequently married a man who ran a logging camp at Pelican Bay, a hard worker and good hunter who treated the boy well. Nonetheless, throughout his life he bore an animus against his father and in part against the heritage he represented.[10]

*657 *648 563 162 [595] Interracial unions were encouraged, not only by a dearth of white women but by an early preponderance of women among the Klamath and by regulations which put an end to polygamy. The early imbalance between the sexes was striking. The figures supplied by Captain Kelly for the adult Klamath in 1864 give a sex ratio of no more than 0.47.[11] Those for the Link River band two years later areonly a little higher for the adults, 0.52, although the overall figure is 0.64, since boys and girls are in approximate balance.[12]

[164] [847] Neither sex-linked disease nor the practice of selective infanticide is known to have occurred among the Klamath, and the most probable explanation must be sought among such factors as differential exposure to rigorous training, warfare, and vicissitudes of the food quest, as well as to possible emigration of single men. O. C. Applegate, the only Agent to comment upon the im-